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ABSTRACT

Most research efforts concerning minority politics have focused on descriptive representation, which emphasizes (1) counting the minority or female persons in office, and (2) explaining representative levels on the basis of political, social and economic determinants. Descriptive representation, however, is passive and focuses on "being something" rather than "doing something." Instead, representation should be measured as an activity resulting from a representative acting in the interest of those represented. From a public policy standpoint, the linkage between passive representation and active representation is an important concept; one that only a few researchers have explored. The study reviews and analyzes the growing literature that links passive and active representation and presents a model suitable for testing this linkage for female representatives on city school boards. The study is organized into three sections. Section 1 provides an overview of the passive representation and determinants literature. Section 2 discusses previous studies that link passive and active representation. Section 3 presents the model that may be used to address the question: Does politics matter? Tables and a figure conclude the study. (APG)

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LINKING PASSIVE AND ACTIVE REPRESENTATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND A MODEL FOR TESTING THE LINKAGE FOR WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES

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LINKING PASSIVE AND ACTIVE REPRESENTATION: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND A MODEL FOR TESTING THE LINKAGE FOR WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES

Considerable research effort has been devoted to the study of minority and gender politics. Employing concepts such as "representative bureucracy" and "proportional representation," a number of studies, for example, have attempted to systematically measure the degree to which blacks, Hispanics, and women have gained access to administrative and policy making positions. For the most part these studies focus on what Pitkin (1967) refers to as descriptive representation. That is, representation is defined in terms of the characteristics of representatives--being black, Hispanic, or female. The notion of descriptive representation is linked to the concept of representativeness and grounded in the theory of representative bureaucracy (see Kingsley, 1944; Long, 1952; Redford, 1969). This theory, in brief, asserts that political values are rooted in political socialization patterns and that these patterns may vary by race, sex, ethnicity, and other demographic characteristics. Thus, policy is responsive to the general public to the extent that administrative and political office-holders mirror the origins of the populace (Mosher, 1968).

According to Pitkin (1967:7), descriptive representation is passive; it focuses on "being something rather than doing

something." Instead, she argues (p. 209) that representation should be an activity; representatives should act "in the interests of the represented." From a public policy perspective the important question thus concerns the linkage between passive representation (the presence of minorities or women in administrative and policy making positions) and active representation (pursuing minority- or gender-related policies). Comparatively speaking, few studies have pursued this linkage. Rather, the predominate foci have been on the accounting or census function (i.e., counting minority or female office holders) and explaining representation levels using a host of political, social, and economic variables. Although the findings emerging from these studies have been instructive, they tell us little about the impact that minorities or women have on public policy outputs.

The purpose of this study is to review and analyze the growing literature that links passive and active representation and to present a model for testing the linkage for female representatives on central city school boards. Gender-based school discrimination practices related to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 serve as policy indicators for testing the passive-active representation nexus (see below). The study is organized into three sections. Section one provides an overview of the voluminous passive representation and determinants literature. In section two, previous studies that link passive and active representation are discussed. The third section presents a

model that may be used to address a perennial question of interest to political scientists: Does politics matter?

Counting and Explaining Minority and Female Representation

The Counting Function

A substantial number of studies have defined minority and female representation in passive terms. Using "some variant of a proportionality notion...representation is described as equitable or fair when it approaches symmetry with the share of the black [Hispanic, or female] population" (Lineberry, 1978;174). With respect to minority representation levels, previous findings suggest that blacks are underrepresented (i.e., they hold fewer positions proportionately than their share of the general population) on city councils (Karnig, 1976, 1979), police forces (Preston, 1977), and upper-level administrative positions (for cities see Dye and Renick, 1981; Eisinger, 1982a; Dometrius and Sigelman; for states see Cayer and Sigelman, 1980; Hutchins and Sigelman, 1981; Dometrius and Sigelman, 1984; for the federal government see Meier and Nigro, 1976; Lewis and Emmert, 1986). In contrast, blacks have been found to be proportionally or overrepresented on central city school boards (Robinson and England, 1981; Welch and Karnig, 1978) and in total local/state/federal government employment (Sigelman, 1974; Meier and Nigro, 1976; Eisinger, 1982a; Dometrius and Sigelman, 1984).

Representation levels for Hispanics are generally lower than those afforded blacks. Taebel (1978) and Karnig and Welch (1979) report that Hispanics hold approximately 44 percent of the city council seats one would expect given their share of the population (blacks held approximately 56%, see Taebel, 1978). Contrary to Robinson and England's (1981) findings of equitable representation of blacks on school boards, Fraga and associates (forthcoming) find that Hispanic school board representation is 77 percent of its expected population-based value. As a final note of comparison, unlike blacks, Hispanics are significantly underrepresented in total state and local government employment (Dometrius and Sigelman, 1984).

Of immediate concern to our modelling efforts here is the representation of women in administrative and policy making positions. Research also shows substantial underrepresentation of women. For example:

--At the national level, in 1983 women held two U.S. Senate and 21 House of Representatives seats. These numbers (using 50 percent as the female share of the U.S. population) translate to 4 and 10 percent, respectively, proportional representation rates. Only 109 of the 10,957 members of Congress since 1789 have been women (Homan and Krafchek, 1983:1).

--At the state level, in 1983 there were 989 women in state houses and senates. This figure represents 13.2 percent of total state legislative seats (Homan and Krafchek, 1983:3), or 26.4 population-based proportional respresentation.

--At the local level, where offices presumably carry less prestige and power (see Karnig and Walter, 1976), females are also underrepresented on city councils and school boards. Karnig and Welch (1979) report that females hold 12.8 percent of city council positions (a proportional rate of 25.6 percent) and Underwood et al. (1985) note that women account for 38.3 percent of school board representatives (approximately 77% proportional representation; for city councils see also Karnig and Walter, 1976; Welch and Karnig, 1979a; for school boards see also Counts, 1927; Fishel and Pottker, 1974; Bers, 1978).

--Research on employment in state and local bureaucracies reveals that women represent about 41% of total employees (.80 proportional representation) and that they are significantly underrepresented in managerial and administrative positions (Dometrius and Sigelman, 1984; see also Saltzstein, 1986).

Table 1 summarizes the findings of passive representation studies. As the table reveals, without exception Hispanics and females, unlike blacks, are underrepresented across all three institutions--bureaucracy, city councils, and school boards. Hispanics and women do, however, achieve their greatest level of parity in governmental representaion on school boards (77% proportional representation, see above). Attention now turns to the findings of studies which attempt to explain the foregoing representation levels.

Table 1 About Here

Explaining Representation

Concomitant with describing passive representation, many scholars attempt to isolate the determinants of minority-gender office-holding. Several variables have dominated in the search for explanation, including: (1) type of electoral system (e.g., single-member district, at-large, appointive) used to select state and/or local representatives (Engstrom and McDonald, 1981; Jones, 1976; Karnig, 1976; Robinson and Dye, 1978; Taebel, 1978; Robinson and England, 1981; Meier and England, 1984; Darcy et al., 1985; Fraga et al., forthcoming); (2) size of organizations (Meier, 1979; Robinson and England, 1981; Taebel, 1978; Karnig and Walter, 1976; Karnig and Welch, 1979); (3) socioeconomic or demographic factors--e.g., median education and income for

total city/school district population or population subgroups, percent female college graduates, families with over $10,000 income, city size (Karnig, 1979; Meier and England, 1984; Fraga et al., forthcoming; MacManus, 1978; Robinson, et al.,1985; Welch and Karnig, 1979a; Karnig and Walters, 1976); (4) political influences such as electoral competition for council seats, form of city government, partisanship (England and Robinson, 1981; Karnig, 1979; Robinson and Dye, 1978; Welch and Karnig, 1979a; Karnig and Walter, 1976); and (5) region (Engstrom and McDonald, 1982; Karnig and Walter, 1976; Karnig, 1976, 1979; Robinson and England, 1981; Taebel, 1978). Table 2 provides a summary of selected determinant studies that use multivariate analytic techniques to assess the impact of political, social, economic, and demographic variables on city council and school board minority-gender representation.

Table 2 About Here

Several generalizations emerge from Table 2. First, at-large elections and southern region inhibit equitable minority representation. Conversely, high levels of black or Hispanic resources (e.g., income, education, interest groups, population) and the presence of large governing bodies (in terms of seats) enhance minority electoral success. Second, findings concerning female representation are less conclusive. Two of the three major systematic studies

focusing on female representation on city councils rely on simple correlation analysis to assess the strength of relationships (see Karnig and Walter, 1976; Karnig and Welch, 1979); findings are therefore tenuous. One multivariate study (Welch and Karnig, 1979a) does, however, suggest that large cities with high family income that use at-large elections plans are more likely to elect women to their city councils. The final generalization is really an observation. As the lower right-hand corner of Table 2 reveals, to our knowledge no attempt has been made to systematically measure the impact of environmental influences on female school board membership within a multivariate framework.

Whether due to non-interst, lack of data, etc., variables affecting female acess to school boards merit empirical investigation . In fact, a recent school board study (Underwood et al., 1985) conducted under the auspices of the National School Board Association suggests (based on frequency distributions) that several variables such as age, region, and income may affect female representation on school boards.

The important question remains, what is the relationship between representation and policy outputs? From our perspective, determinant studies have stopped short of complete explanation. Determinants of representation should be viewed as environmental variables that have both a direct effect on public policy (see Dye, 1966) as well as an indirect effect as they filter through political

representation structures--i.e., city councils, school boards (see Robinson, England, and Meier, 1985). Before presenting a model which allows for a better understanding of the impact of politics, the notion of active representation requires discussion.

Active Representation

Historically, Pitkin's (1967) notion of active representation has had little applicability to minority politics. Neither blacks nor Hispanics have a long history of political representation by members of their own communities. The same is true for women. However, due to increased minority and female membership in governing circles, political scientists have recently begun to assess the impact of these new representatives on public policy. While the number of studies focusing on active representation is still comparatively small relative to the passive representation literature (Gruhl, Spohn and Welch, 1981:308; Saltzstein, 1986:14), those studies that do exist challenge the notion that minority/gender representation is mainly symbolic (see Constantini and Craik, 1972; Kirkpatrick 1974; Bers, 1978). For example, the presence of black mayors (Eisinger, 1982b) or blacks on city councils (Dye and Renick, 1981) has been linked to black gains in city employment. Welch and Karnig (1979b,c;1980) suggest a similar linkage exists between black mayors and municipal expenditures deemed favorable to black interests. Also, Hispanics by capturing city council seats and women by capturing mayoral positions

can increase their respective share of representation in local bureaucracies (see Dye and Renick, 1981; Saltzstein, 1986).

Because of inherent problems associated with measuring active representation in terms of employment and expenditure levels, Meier and England (1984; see also Eisinger, 1982a; Welch and Karnig, 1979c) argue that the use of more substantive policy indicators will perhaps tell us more about the passive-active representation linkage. For example, two studies focusing on female judges report that women differ from their male counterparts. Women judges at the municipal level are more severe in sentencing female defendants than are male judges (Gruhl, et al. 1981). And Walker and Barrow (1985) note that female federal judges are less apt to support personal liberty and minority policy claims, but are no more or less supportive of womens' rights cases than men on the bench.

Two other studies that examine substantive active representation for Hispanics reveal mixed findings. Fraga, Meier, and England (forthcoming) find no direct relationship between Hispanic school board representation and second generation school discrimination practices affecting Hispanic students. They do note, however, that Hispanic representation is indirectly related to overcoming discrimination through school board policies that increase Hispanic access to the educational bureaucracy (i.e., hiring Hispanic teachers). On the other hand, research shows that

Hispanics may benefit from a strong representative-constituent policy congruence dyad (see Eulau and Karps, 1977). Policy congruence stems from the tendency of Congressional representatives from heavily Hispanic districts to vote for the more liberal programs favored by their constituents (Welch and Hibbing, 1984).

Finally, research shows that black representation on school boards has a significant direct as well as indirect effect on limiting second generation school discrimination practices and policies against black students (Meier and England, 1984).

Our proposed model attempts to build on these nonemployment and expenditure active representation studies by investigating the linkage between female school board representation and potentially gender-based discriminatory school practices prohibited by Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Given previous findings reported by Meier and England (1984) and Fraga, et al. (forthcoming), one might expect that female representaion on school boards may have an effect on education practices. This is a question that can be addressed empirically; but requires a framework for analysis. The next section presents such a framework.

A Model for Testing the Passive-Active Representation Nexus For Women On School Boards

As noted above, few studies have attemoted to examine

the linkage between passive and active minority or gender based representation. Why? Because such an investigation requires "good" policy indicators. Good policy indicators must meet two criteria. First, the indicator must relate to a program output that the policymaker can affect. Second, the linkage between the policy and gender (or race) must be clearly evident to the policymaker. Policy indicators meeting both these criteria exist within the context of Title IX regulations and female representation on school boards. Elaboration is required. First, the policy implications of Title IX are discussed. Next, a model that suggests the possible direct and/or indirect effects of environmental and school board representation on educational policy outcomes is presented. This model allows for an additional test of the passive-active representation nexus.

Title IX Policy Implications

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 states:

> No person in the U.S. shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

In essense the legislation offers legal protection to females (and males, for that matter) against sexist-oriented programs that women's groups had decried as being rampant

within the nation's entire educational structure (see Dunkle and Sandler, 1974; Fishel and Pottker, 1977).

To date, most efforts to seriously weaken the legislative provisions of Title IX have been defeated (see Burton, 1979; Gelb and Palley, 1982). But, it is the enforcement of the law rather than its maintenance that has proven to be more problematic. Numerous studies have detailed lax, disinterested, uneven, or just plain non-existent enforcement of Title IX provisions by federal officials (Burton, 1979; Project on Equal Education Rights, 1977; Petty 1977; Gelb and Palley, 1982). Such a weak federal commitment has led women's groups to depend more upon local-level monitoring (Palley, 1977; Project on Equal Education Rights, 1977) and the "tradition of local control of schools and colleges" (Burton, 1979:37) to accomplish Title IX goals.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association (Burton, 1979:16), the American Football Coaches Association (Costain, 1978), numerous college and university administrators, and state school boards associations were leading opponents of Title IX (Fishel and Pottker, 1977:50). In counterpoint to these mostly male-dominated interest groups was the National Coalition of Women and Girls in Education (NCWGE). The NCWGE is an umbrella group which includes elements of the National Organization of Women, the League of Women Voters, the National Education Association, and the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL). According to some observers, the NCWGE became

"the most assertive, viable and well-organized group" in protecting the integrity of Title IX and in seeking its enforcement (Gelb and Palley, 1982: 122).

Most of the resistance to Title IX was rooted in the fear of school administrators that they would be forced to integrate previously all-male activities, particularly sports. Other concerns were that they would have to provide separate-but-equal athletic, social, and/or academic facilities/opportunities for female students. The cost, opponents argued, would be prohibitive and, given the narrowness of support for this "feminist agenda item" among the education constituency (i.e. taxpayers and voters), the need for such change was questionable (Burton 1979).

Women protested that it was not just sports or physical education classes that discriminated against females, it was also programs that distinguished curriculum requirements between boys and girls. For instance, some schools required girls to complete a home economics course in order to graduate. In other schools, girls were discouraged or even prohibited from taking vocational education courses, other than those deemed "appropriate" for women (Burton, 1979:10; Sexton, 1976). Female students, not generally perceived as future bread-winners, were not encouraged by career counselors to pursue lucrative, status-oriented professions. Also, discipline problems among girl students were neither recognized nor acted upon; thus denying girls the potential psycnological benefits that might accrue from counseling.

Finally, pregnancy often meant the end of the educational road since many schools would not allow pregnant students, particularly unmarried ones, to stay in or return to school (Burton, 1979:10)

As noted earlier, the inability or unwillingness of federal officials to vigorously enforce Title IX regulations forced supporters to rely more upon grass roots implementation efforts. Such strategies included informing the public about Title IX, persuading school administrators to implement and/or comply with Title IX provisions, and placing allies in position of authority over educational policies (Gelb and Palley, 1982). One such ally, theoretically, would be a woman elected or appointed to a school board.

Local school boards, described as "grass roots democracy at work" (Lutz, 1980), are an important source of community efforts to retain control of education. At this level of legislative government the values of the community are represented (Gittell, 1970). But while school boards enjoy the reputation of being "above politics", they are also criticized as being "orthodox, traditional, and unresponsive" (Cistone, 1977:95). In fact, many analysts agree that one irony of the school board is that in its effort to be non-conflictual, apolitical and scientific-management-oriented, it has become suceptible to a school board "culture" which resists change, even in the face of constituency pressure for change (Ziegler and Tucker, 1977; Ziegler and Jennings:

1977). Title IX by calling for school authorities to take affirmative action and make changes in their practices and policies represents a direct challenge to the autonomy and authority historically enjoyed by predominately male-populated school boards and administrations (Strober and Tyack, 1978).

The literature is unclear about the response that female public officials might have to "womens issues," such as Title IX. Some researchers insist that if more women held elective office, women's equality issues would be more actively pursued (Johnson, 1980; Kendrigan, 1984). Others are not so sure. Bers (1978) for instance claims that the women on the school boards she studied were more likely to see their role as representing the community rather than "special interests." Mezey (1978) notes that the gender of the politicians she studied in Hawaii had no bearing on their attitude toward representation of women's political issues. But Mezey (1980) also reports that women in local government in Connecticut believed they they had a special responsibility to their female constituents. None of these studies go much beyond attitudes or perceptions of women. Data are available, however, that allow for a more direct test of the impact of female representation on educational policy. These data can be used to construct an active representation model.

A Model of Factors Affecting Title IX Indicators

Two types of variables are hypothesized to affect Title IX-related discrimination directly--demographic characteristics of the school district, and socioeconomic attributes of the population. Also, exogenous to both female representation and Title IX policy outputs is a group of political/structural variables that may impact gender-based discrimination indirectly through the mediating affect of female school board representation. All three types of variables represent environmental influences that must be controlled for (statistically speaking) in order to assess the true impact of female representation on school policies. Figure 1 shows a heuristic model of environmental (control) and mediating factors affecting potentially biased male/female student policies. A brief discussion of each group of factors follows, starting with our policy indicators.

Figure 1 About Here

Policy Indicators. As noted previously, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 requires, in part, that no person on the basis of sex can be excluded from "participation in, denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity" receiving federal fiscal aid. The first attempt by the

Office of Civil Rights (OCR) to gather nationwide information from school districts about Title IX provisions was in 1976 (Children's Defense Fund 1977:73). Only after considerable delay (after all, Title IX legislation was approved in 1972) and only by overcoming much resistance (see Children's Defense Fund, 1977, Part III) was OCR able to administer the 1976 Elementary and Secondary Civil Rights Survey. The survey required officials of school districts receiving federal funds (approximately 16,000 school districts) to provide enrollment counts by sex for students in various vocational programs--e.g., home economics and industrial arts. Subsequent OCR Civil Rights Surveys included additional Title IX-related information concerning: male/female student enrollments in physical education classes; pregnancy and graduation policies; and gender-divided participation on interscholastic athletic teams.

Based upon data from the Office of Civil Rights, seven Title IX policy indicators are available for analysis:

(1) Graduation requirements by sex;

(2) Pregnancy policies with schools;

(3-5) Male/female enrollments in home economics, industrial arts, and physical education classes. and;

(6-7) Number of all-male and female interscholastic athletic teams and total team memberships by sex

If female access to school board seats affects policy outputs, districts with higher proportions of women on school

boards should be less likely to pursue policies that: (1) require different graduation requirements for male and female students, or (2) mandate separate educational programs for pregnant student. Also, these female representatives, at least theoretically, should seek policies that attempt to provide equal participation by gender in interscholastic athletic programs and should attempt to break discriminatory placement of males and females into distinct vocational tracks--females in home economics and males in industrial arts. Table 3 summarizes the Title IX indicators, their operationalization, and the expected relationship of each with female school board representation.

Table 3 About Here

Representation (Mediating) Variable. The measure of women representation (see Figure 1) is the percentage of female-held school board seats (see Welch and Karnig, 1979:483). If women are equitably represented on a particular school board, they will hold approximately 50 percent of total membership.

Control Variables. Three types of variables may potentially affect female representation on school boards and/or sex-based education practices of schools (see Figure 1, right-hand side). Each of these variables has been found to be a significant predictor of minority or female representation in previous studies (see Table 2 above).

The first cluster of variables, labeled demographic, include region and district size. Southern region is hypothesized to be negatively related to female school board representation and positively related to school discrimination based on sex. As Karnig and Walter (1976:609) note, "The South continues as the American region most traditionalistic in political culture." City size also has been linked to more equitable female representation on city councils (Karnig and Welch, 1979), thus one might hypothesize a similar relationship exists between school district size and women's share of school board seats. District size should also be related to lower levels of sex discrimination in school. Larger school districts, for example, have greater resources that might be used for dual (male/female) athletic teams. Also, these large districts are more heterogenous, cosmopolitan, and less parochial (see Ziegler and Jennings, 1974).

The second cluster of variables affect Title IX-related policies only as they filter through school board representation. That is, different electoral structures and school board size impact the election of women to school boards, who in turn presumably work to reduce the deleterious consequences of sex discrimination. Research, although evidence is tenuous for females (see Welch and Karnig, 1979a), suggests that at-large elections severly impede black and Hispanic representation on city councils (Robinson and Dye, 1978; Fraga et al., forthcoming) but facilitate female

placement in office (Welch and Karnig, 1979a; Darcy, et al. 1985). The size of school boards should be positively related to female gains (see Taebel, 1978).

The final two variables are categorized as socioeconomic influences. The rationale for inclusion of the two variables is rooted in the passive representation literature. Socioeconomic variables have often been found to be directly related to public policy outputs (see Dye, 1966). Also, cities with a high percentage of females who are college graduates and high family incomes have greater female representation on city councils (see Welch and Karnig, 1979a). The same findings may hold true for women on school boards. Table 4 summarizes; (1) the exogenous variables proposed in our model, (2) their operationalization, (3) the data source for each indicator, and (4) the relationship of each variable to female school board membership and Title IX policy indicators.

Table 4 About Here

SUMMARY

The purpose of this paper was twofold. First, we attempted to provide a comprehensive overview of passive and active representation research. This overview suggests that few studies have attempted to link the two forms of representation. Rather, the emphasis to date has been on the

counting function (i.e., documenting the presence of women, blacks, or Hispanics in the bureaucracy or on school boards and city councils) or the explaining function (i.e., isolating the determinants of representation). These studies have been instructive, but fail to show the relationship between representation and public policy outputs.

The second purpose of the paper was to present a detailed research design that allows for the analysis of the impact that female representation on central city school boards has on Title IX-related education policies and practices. This research design included a theoretically-specified model and a discussion of environmental (control), mediating, and education policy indicators.

Operationalization of the research design will allow for an additional test of the passive-active representation linkage. We currently are in the process of testing the linkage.

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TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF PASSIVE REPRESENTATION FOR BLACKS, HISPANICS, AND WOMEN[a]

	Administrative/Government Institution			
	Bureaucracy			
Protected Group	Total Employment	Upper-level positions	City Councils	School Boards
Blacks	(+)	(-)	(-)	(+)
Hispanics	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Women	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)

a. A positive sign indicates either overrepresentation or proportional representation. A minus sign indicates underrepresentation.

TABLE 2
AN OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS OF SELECTED DETERMINANT STUDIES[a]

	LOCAL GOVERNMENT BODY					
	CITY COUNCILS			SCHOOL BOARDS		
Protected Group	Study	Principal Variables	Impact[b] on Representation	Study	Principal Variables	Impact[b] on Representation
Blacks	Engstrom & MacDonald (1982)	1. Southern Region	(-)	Robinson & England (1981)	1. At-large elections	(-)
	Engstrom & MacDonald (1981)	1. At-large elections 2. Black income	(-) (+)	Welch & Karnig (1978)	1. District/mixed election system 2. Small school boards	(-) (-)
	Karnig (1979)	1. At-large elections 2. Black/white income differential 3. Black resources	(-) (+) (+)	Robinson, England, and Meier (1985)	1. At-large elections 2. % Black population 3. Black/white income differential	(-) (+) (+)
	Robinson & Dye (1978)	1. At-large elections 2. Black education	(-) (+)			
Hispanics	Taebel (1978)	1. Large council size	(+)	Fraga, Meier & England (forthcoming)	1. At-large election 2. Appointive selection plan 3. % Hispanic population	(-) (-) (+)
Women	Welch & Karnig (1979a)	1. City size 2. At-large elections 3. High family income	(+) (+) (+)	NO MULTIVARIATE STUDIES		

a. The studies reported in the table are not exhaustive of all determinant research. The studies are, however, representative.

b. A positive sign indicates the variable enhances equitable representation. A negative sign denotes the opposite.

FIGURE 1

A HEURISTIC MODEL OF FACTORS AFFECTING GENDER-BASED SCHOOL DISCRIMINATION POLICIES

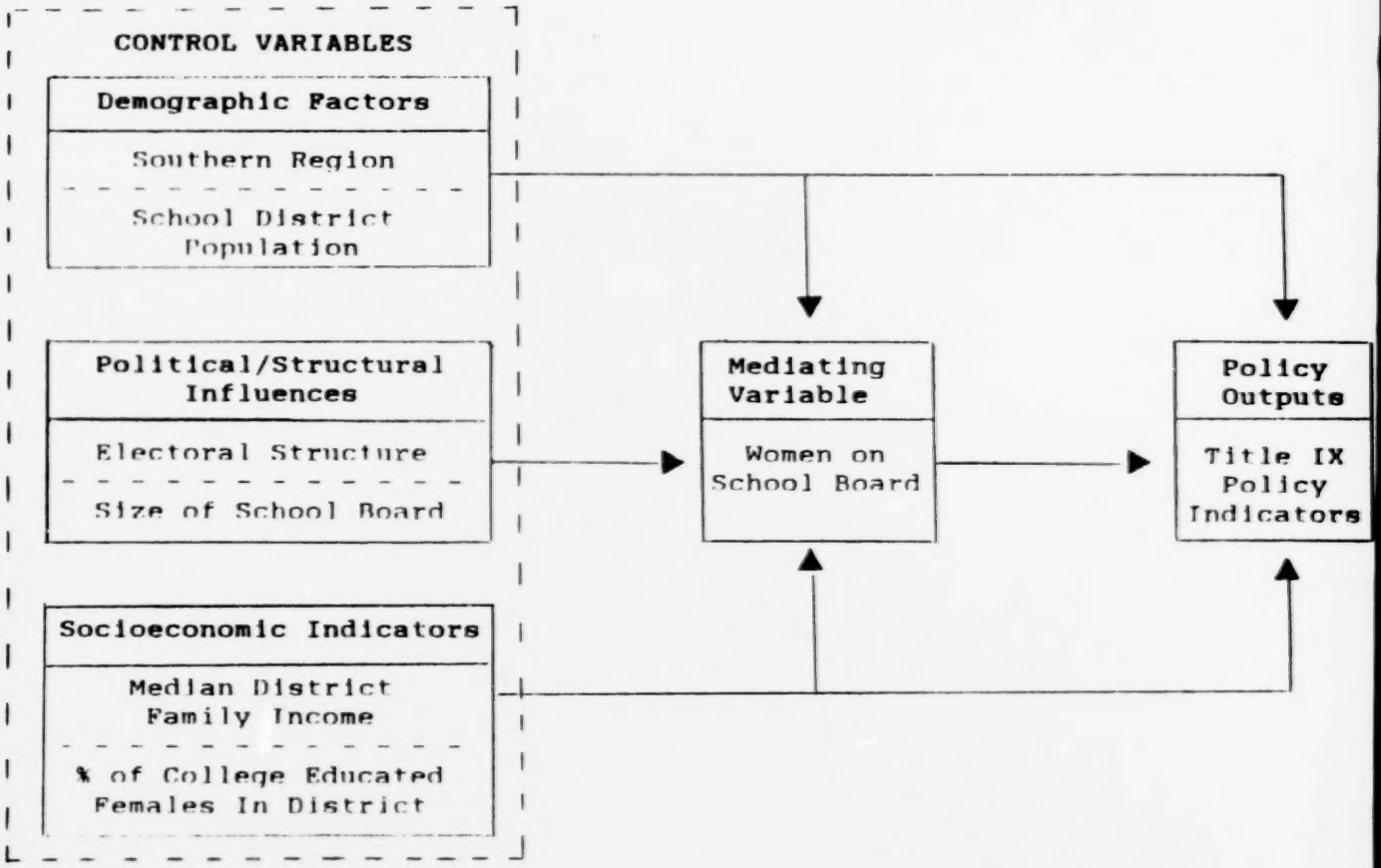

TABLE 3

TITLE IX POLICY INDICATORS, OPERATIONALIZATION, AND EXPECTED RELATIONSHIP WITH FEMALE REPRESENTATION ON SCHOOL BOARDS[a]

Title IX Indicators	Operationalization	Expected Relationship With Female Representation
Policies & Practices		
(1) Graduation requirements	Different graduation requirements by sex; 0=no, 1=yes	(-)
(2) Pregnancy policies	Mandatory female participation in separate educational programs; 0=no, 1=yes	(-)
(3) Physical education classes	Female/male student enrollment[b] ratio	(+)
(4) Home economics classes	Female/male student enrollment[b] ratio	(+)
(5) Industrial arts classes	Female/male student enrollment[b] ratio	(+)
(6) Interscholastic teams	Ratio of female to male teams[c]	(+)
(7) Athletic team memberships	Ratio of female/male team[c] memberships	(+)

a. All data are from "Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey: 1968-1982 Time Series Data".

b. Proportion of female students in classes divided by proportion of male students in classes. If ratio equals 1.0, female students are proportionately represented in classes based on their share of the school population. A ratio figure less than 1.0 or greater than 1.0 indicates, respectively, under or overrepresentation of female students in classes.

c. Number of female teams or total female student membership on teams divided by number of male teams or total male membership in teams. If ratio equals 1.0, then female/male athletic teams and membership on teams is equal.

TABLE 4

EXOGENOUS VARIABLES EMPLOYED IN STUDY, OPERATIONALIZATION, DATA SOURCE, AND PROPOSED RELATIONSHIPS TO ENDOGENOUS VARIABLES

Exogenous Variables	Operationalization	Data Source	Proposed Relationship to: Female Representation	Policy Indicators
(1) Southern Region	0=nonsouth 1=south	County and City Data Book 1983, p xvi	(-)	(-)
(2) School District Population	Log of district population	1980 Census, File STF-3	(+)	(+)
(3) Electoral Structure	1) 0=not at-large 1=use at-large 2) 0=not mixed/ward 1=use mixed/ward 3) 0=not appointive 1=use appointive	1978 direct mail survey of school superintendents	(+) (-) (-)	NR NR NR
(4) School Board Size	Number of Seats	1978 direct mail survey of school superintendents	(+)	NR
(5) School District Family Income	Median	1980 Census, File STF-3	(+)	(+)
(6) College Educated Females in District	Percent	1980 Census, File STF-3	(+)	(+)